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EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Ohio Election—A Reconstruction of the Republican Party.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The trials of our late stipendiary civil war have lifted the people of this country far above the politicians. The results of the late elections, looking simply at the offices involved and the individuals chosen to fill them, amount to little or nothing; but in a moral and political view they turn over a new leaf and open a new chapter in American history.

From Pennsylvania to Indiana, as by a sort of spontaneous combustion, we see the same general popular reaction against the excesses of radical fanaticism; but in the returns from Ohio, in which last year's Republican majority of forty thousand disappears, we have a splendid dissolving view of Mr. Chase and his band of radical engineers and their Presidential programme of universal negro suffrage and Southern negro supremacy.

This verdict of Ohio, with an emphasis which cannot be misunderstood, rules Mr. Chase and his extreme radical negro doctrine and theories out of the Presidential canvass of 1868. Forty thousand majority in the hitherto impregnable radical State of Ohio—forty thousand, more or less, against engraving upon the State constitution an amendment establishing universal negro suffrage—is a Northern protest against this thing which demands nothing less than a change of front by the masses of the Republican party, and a change of leaders.

Messrs. Chase, Wade, Stevens, Sumner, Colfax, Chandler and Company, like the managing Copperheads of the Democratic party, have been "weighed in the balances and found wanting." The handwriting is fixed on the wall against the demoralizing and disorganizing schemes and dogmas of both these factions—Copperheads and radicals—rejected, each in their turn, by the unflinching judgment of an intelligent people.

The voice of Ohio on this direct test of universal or unqualified suffrage is the voice of the North, and it is given as a warning to all concerned in the coming Presidential contest. What, then, are the sensible, practical men, rank and file, of the Republican party called upon to do? They are simply called upon to reorganize and take a new departure, men and measures, for the Presidential campaign.

Universal negro suffrage, rejected by Ohio in 1867 by thirty or forty thousand majority, must be superseded by the constitutional amendment, endorsed by Ohio in 1868 by forty odd thousand majority. In 1862, on Henry Clay's great compromise measure on the slavery question, poor Pierce and the Democracy against the conqueror of Mexico as the Whig candidate, carried the country, North and South, as by acclamation.

But, departing in 1864 from the instructions of the people, and persisting in this folly, the Democracy, on the slavery issue, were torn to pieces in 1860 among the clashing elements of their Charleston Convention. The great body of the Republican party, in being carried by their radical leaders, to the opposite extreme of negro worship, are now warned of the same danger, and in season to avoid a similar disaster. Their safety lies in casting out these impracticable and implacable radical leaders, in cutting loose from their destructive schemes and fallacies, and in recognizing and following the instructions of the people.

The Republican Convention of Maryland, in nominating General Grant as its Presidential candidate, points out the way of safety and success. General Grant may be pronounced the embodiment of the genuine Union sentiment of the country. Above all the distracting factions, elements, and embarrassments of the hour, like a commanding and well-known light-house, through the fog, and rain, and darkness he looms up in bold and cheering relief. Resistless in the field, sagacious in council, cool and collected in any emergency, and practical in everything, he needs no ingeniously constructed platform to rally a great national party around him.

By the logic of their position. When the Copperheads were supporting Vallandigham for Governor and doing their utmost to break down the war for the Union, the Republicans called the blacks to do their best into ranks of the nation's defenders, and the summons was nobly responded to. Denied a voice in directing the Government he fought to uphold, proscribed, despised, spit upon, the negro took up his musket and went to the front, while Copperheads were fleeing to Canada and skulking in every direction to evade the draft.

Hence, the late Legislature of Ohio, by a party vote, passed an amendment to the State Constitution providing that color should no longer be a test of political rights—that a black, if a loyal, worthy citizen, should vote, and that a deserter or draft-sneak should not. That Amendment was properly submitted to the people to be ratified or rejected at the late election.

Of course, it was understood that we were to lose by it how much, could only be determined by the result. But the lower half of the State, and especially the southeastern counties, were originally and largely settled from Virginia and Kentucky; and it was notorious that many of the Republicans would resist negro suffrage, while every Democrat would do his utmost to defeat it.

The Republicans, therefore, with everything at stake, including Mr. Wade's seat in the Senate, accepted—in fact, challenged—an issue which they might have postponed, and thus transformed into a hazard what before was a certainty. They did what was right and just when they could not fall to lose by it, when trimming and a low expediency would have insured them against all danger.

They have lost their Legislature—they came very near losing their State ticket—because they were in advance of their time. "What fools!" exclaim the men wise in their own generation, who can conceive no other end of political effort but to secure and enjoy power—who test all things by their immediate practical results—"why not, at least, put off the question of negro suffrage to a more convenient season?"—if a party, that has a genuine life, were not always sloughing off dead matter, and educating the masses to consider justice first, and success afterwards.

What individual ever acted nobly without daring and suffering? Who does not realize that the best acts of his life were those most misconceived, maligned, traduced, howled at? If the Ohio Republicans did not realize that black suffrage would be a heavy load to carry, they deserve less honor than we freely accord them.

But they did know it. They deliberately chose to be right rather than safe. They chose to fight a doubtful battle for a great and good end, rather than accept a cheap and certain but relatively unimportant success. And, as the universe is not a product of chance, but under moral government, we feel assured that events will prove them wise as well as right. We predict that their present reverse will prove their permanent advantage—that they will rise from it strengthened and invigorated, and look back on it as we do on the Bull Run of 1861 and the McClellan of 1862. We only ask those who doubt to wait and see.

The President and the Cabinet. From the N. Y. Times.

Intimations grow more frequent and authoritative that the President intends to change his Cabinet. The result of the recent elections is said to have prompted him to this course; and under the same instigation, if he changes it at all, he is expected to make it up wholly from the Democratic party.

the first intimation that his place was wanted; and the peace of the country would not be endangered if the powers and duties of his place were confided to other hands. None of the other Cabinet officers would probably be very seriously missed; and we presume all of them would consider a chance of retirement as a decided relief.

The True Issue in Europe.

From the N. Y. Times.

French intervention alone prevented the reconstruction of Germany and the perfect unity of Italy a year ago; French intervention has been the chief obstacle to the peaceful achievement of those ends; but French intervention, active as it now is, is powerless to prevent the early attainment of these devoutly to be wished for consummations.

"Italian unity" and "German consolidation" are predetermined facts; they must come through peaceful political agitation or through much bloodshed—it is for Louis Napoleon to say which. The first notes of a great and bloody war in Europe or the last echoes of that warlike strain heard a year ago, are now being sounded in Europe. If Napoleon decides that they are the prelude to another war, then, in all human probability, when the last notes shall have been heard, North and South Germany, with their forty millions of inhabitants, and over one million of trained soldiers, will have become the reconsolidated German Empire; Italy will have grown into a formidable kingdom, with Rome for its capital; the temporal authority of the Pope will have ended; and the power of France will have been broken like that of Austria a year or two ago.

By the war of 1866 Prussia absorbed North Germany, and thus enabling her to concentrate her troops to meet the Prussians at Vienna, she would have absorbed all South Germany. French intervention thus prevented Prussia from dictating peace in the Austrian capital instead of at Prague. It prevented Italy from occupying Rome and dictating peace there, instead of accepting the compromising and dangerous "September Convention" at Vienna, which would have secured a speedy evacuation of Rome by the French soldiers who garrisoned it, Victor Emmanuel bound himself not to forcibly possess himself of the city, not to allow Italian volunteers to take it, and through which treaty he has been finally compelled, in the September of the next year following the date of this unfortunate compromise, to arrest Garibaldi and his son, and stop the invasion of the Papal States by the Italian volunteers which the sturdy old leader had organized.

But French intervention which thus brought the wars in Germany and Italy to an abrupt close, was not content to stop agitation on the issues which created those wars. Ever since the peace of Prague Bismarck has labored successfully for German consolidation, and the successful issue of that agitation, begun in war, continued in peace, and threatening to culminate in a second war, is near at hand.

Ever since the "September Convention" was signed, amid the protests of Garibaldi and his adherents, the "party of action" have been endeavoring to annul it; and at last, abandoning peaceful measures, the present complicated situation in Italy has been brought about. And it is not such a very complicated condition of affairs, after all. Garibaldi's organized invasion is already a failure. Victor Emmanuel has fulfilled his treaty obligations, but the revolt in Viterbo is, initially, a success, and the two or three battles which have been fought have been victories over the Papal forces. Italy has refused aid to the Pope against his revolting subjects. Napoleon, at the outset, in reply to the entreaties of the Pope for assistance, notified Victor Emmanuel that he must observe the "September Convention" and not occupy Rome. Victor Emmanuel, while yet enforcing these obligations, foreseeing the occupation of Rome by the insurgents, has asked to be released from these treaty obligations; and Prussia, giving us a glimpse of the terms of the secret treaty which it has with Italy, has declared the request to be just, and intimated an intention to support Victor Emmanuel in his demand.

Napoleon finds that the "September Convention" was faulty in not providing for a revolt of the Pope's subjects; and now he must either see Rome the capital of reunited Italy or prevent it by a war with Italy and Germany. The last news intimates that the Frenchman is wise as well as wily; and that he has agreed with Francis Joseph—singular alliance of cunning and imbecility—that Victor Emmanuel shall have his Rome, but that the Pope shall direct his civil administration as heretofore while he lives, and that his temporal power shall end with him. And no doubt, in this submitting to an uncontrollable and inexorable necessity, Napoleon will endeavor to make it appear that he dictates the terms of that contentment.

There will, we think, be no war of any magnitude; but whether there is or not, that cause which this country is most interested in—that cause which this country most intensely watches in Europe—will be triumphant. The liberalism which has reformed England, united Italy, and reconstructed Germany, and has given its old Constitution to Hungary, will pursue the even but vigorous tenor of its way until it develops into strong and healthy and true and powerful republicanism, and imperiousness will no less surely and certainly grow weak and die out, unregarded and unheeded. It is already in its lodges, not merely in Spain and Austria, where its power has long been crushed, but even in France, where it is most vigorous; and the fall of Pope will virtually mark the death of imperialism.

country like this, of rapid growth. In a period of convulsive turbulence and upheaving, opinion advances with an accelerated velocity. It is not possible that the mighty struggles of the last six years should not leave a deep imprint on succeeding times. The future of this country is not to depend on the opinions of men who were over forty when the war broke out, but on the opinions of those who were under thirty. Though built after the same plan, our younger men, like those of Israel, that the second temple was like the first. We must, nevertheless, recognize facts. It is a fact that all the flower of our young men were engaged in, and educated by, the war. All the youthful vigor, daring, enterprise, love of adventure, thirst for honor, pride of country, marched with our armies. In the army they lived a deeper life than falls to the lot of ordinary sluggish generations. Their whole manhood was a hundred times put to the proof; the experience of four years was more than the common experience of a life. And it came at an age when the character is yet pliant and yielding; when opinions are either not formed, or have not settled into dogmatic stiffness. The mould was applied while the clay was yet soft, and it will continue to bear the impress. There is an ineffaceable difference between the generation of men that is going out and the younger generation that is coming in; and no party which ignores this difference will be in sufficient sympathy with the rising future to guide its politics.

Our elderly men, whose habits of thought became fixed before the war, will be every year deserting, in obedience to a summons they cannot resist. As between the old epoch and the new, they will be a constantly dwindling minority; but as between the living and the dead, they are "passing over to the majority." Their ingrained habits of thought will pass with them, and the country will be ruled by the generation whose character was shaped in these later stirring times.

The Democratic party, in its brightest and palest days, was prominently the party of progress. In spite of the croakings and forebodings of its opponents, it extended the suffrage to white citizens till suffrage became universal; it abolished imprisonment for debt; removed the property qualification for office; made the State judiciary elective; brought new territory into the Union until its original area was quadrupled; made vigorous war upon the protective system, although many of its early leaders had supported it; and until the slavery question became predominant, its favorite engine rather than to put on the brakes. In compliance to its Southern wing, it made mistakes on the slavery question, and lost the advantage of leadership. In its attempts to prevent opinion advancing too fast, it fell behind; and there could not be a more fatal blunder at present than an attempt to carry the public opinion of the country back to the point where it stood when, to save the train from destruction in moving down a declivity, the Democratic party went from the engine to the brakes.

The tendency of successful parties is to forget that society never stands still; that opinion is ever advancing; that the policy of a past generation can never exactly tally with the conditions of the present. The enemies of the Roundheads, who beheaded Charles I, planted the seeds of the reaction which restored his son. The restored Stuarts, who had not the wisdom to discern that they were in a new epoch, reasserted the royal prerogative in as high a tone as if the Commonwealth had not intervened, and thereby lost the throne forever. Modern France teaches the same lesson. The severity of antecedent oppression caused the violent excesses of the Revolution, which, in turn, paved the way for the despotism of the First Napoleon. The restored Bourbons, like the restored Stuarts, learned nothing and forgot nothing, and a new revolution in 1830 swept them from the throne.

We admire the old Democratic leaders as fervently as anybody can whose admiration is rational. But we trust we do not admire them in the same stupid spirit in which pedants and literati nitro-compound admirers of the ancient classics. We would not soverly copy their policy, but rather emulate the spirit, the judgment, the attention to present circumstances, the recognition of popular good sense, the adaptation of means to ends, which made them wise in their generation, as we ought to be in ours. It is the very essence of Democracy that the people of every generation are fully competent to manage their own affairs. Such parts of a former policy as are suited to present circumstances we hope we shall have the wisdom to adopt and continue; not, however, from mere respect to authority, but because we have a clear perception of their fitness. Such parts of an old policy as are not adapted to the new epoch, we trust we shall have the independence to discard, thus honoring our predecessors by imitating their self-reliant example, and by bringing fresh faculties to bear on actual circumstances. The emulous artist most truly honored his master by feeling that he, too, was a painter.

The most illustrious example of far-sighted sagacity, and wise moderation in victory, to be found in the history of political parties, was perhaps furnished by Jefferson, the father of the Democratic party. His consummate wisdom in the hour of triumph, his strengthened and consolidated the party, that it remained in power the greater part of the next sixty years. He had the reach of thought to see that a "vibrating ascendancy" would give no stable character to the policy of the Government, and he built for durability. Instead of attempting to carry the tower to a giddy, topping height, he broadened its base and gave it the solidity of a pyramid. He accepted some things in the policy of his predecessors which he and his followers had opposed at the time of their adoption; he aimed at all party bitterness as to conciliate the Federalists, in his eloquent inaugural address, containing the famous exclamation, "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists!" he refused to adopt a proscription course in regard to offices, causing his partisans to grumble. "Our President lacks energy—it would have been different if Burr had been elected." He thus prevented a reaction, brought many Federalists into his party, and insured its ascendancy for a period long enough to give it a moulding influence on the institutions of the country. General Knox was the first of the Federal leaders to change sides, being won over by the admirable temper of the inaugural. In reply to his letter, Jefferson wrote:—"It is with great satisfaction that I learn from all quarters that my inaugural address is considered as holding out a ground for conciliation and union. I am the more pleased with this because the opinion therein stated as to the real ground of difference among us (to wit: the measures rendered most expedient by the French armistice) is that which I have long entertained. I was always satisfied that the great body of those called Federalists were real Republicans as well as Federalists."

The reasons why the Democratic party should now act in the same large and catholic spirit are manifold. Our institutions have had such a terrible wrench that they can never be righted by the merely stilted ascendancy of the Democratic party. If we exhibit

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A wise moderation and a liberal spirit, we shall be rapidly recruited. Multitudes of Republicans have been former Democrats, and still agree with us except in regard to some of the questions which have grown out of the war. We must make it not difficult, but easy, for them to return to their former associations. An original, ingrained Democracy, modified but not eradicated by the civil convulsions of the last six years, is probably the type of politics best adapted to the present condition of the country. The great want of the country is conciliation; and we must set the example of it. Concord and fraternal harmony are not to come from the absolute triumph of any set of extreme principles. Let no men of honest impulses and natural candor, whether they live in the North or the South, be humiliated when it is possible to spare them in consistency with the general weal. The soldiers who have fought in the two armies, if they were left to act alone, would come to a spontaneous reconciliation.

They have for each other the mutual respect—in many cases the mutual admiration—of brave men; they have the honorable sympathy and the magnanimity of the soldierly character; and the mass of them were too young, on both sides, to have become bigots to any rigid set of political dogmas before their character was subjected to the moulding influence of the war. And it must be borne in mind that the men thus trained comprise the best abilities, the best blood, the greatest ardor of enterprise, and the most devoted patriotism (mistaken though it may have been on the Southern side) in the country. Ten years hence, when Thad. Stevens is dead, and Jeff. Davis is dead, and most of the old stagers shall have gone to their account, the young men who served in the two armies will be in the full vigor of maturity, and the leading spirits in our public councils. Our politics will then be controlled more by many good sense than by traditional ideas, as the men in power will belong to the new era. If the Democratic party is wise, it will so order its action that the inevitable progress of events and of public opinion will work for it and with it, not against it.

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